/82 cont./

226 He lies in wait for the fish which are caught between the two dikes and are thus led toward the net which closes the barrier" (Palavecino).

The Uro like to fish at night: "It is a curious spectacle to see them on moonlit nights embark on their balsas in the direction of their barriers. At their destination they form a sort of conical tent with the totora sails, which shelters them from the wind, and they give themselves over to fishing" (Palavecino).

[All] When the Uro navigate on the Desaguadero, they always carry along with them a spear (p'uri), whose point bristles with iron spikes. With this weapon they harpoon the suche (Trichomycterus), a fish to which they are very partial, in the mud where the water is not very deep.

223 Hunting. Hunting plays only a very secondary role in the Uro economy. In all, for game they have nothing beside the water birds which abound in the marshes of the Desaguadero. They strike them with bolas, of which two weights are cylinders of wood; the third is an oval stone, which they hold in the hand while they whirl this weapon over the head (Fig. 25, 3 /see p. 13/).

They also have recourse to extremely long nets in capturing these birds whose flight skims the water. These are stretched in a semicircle /82/ in the middle of the fields of totora and attached to faggots of rushes and to stakes. A part of the net is submerged to prevent the diving birds from passing beneath the surface of the water. The hunters on their balsas make most to chase the birds toward the obstacle where the latter find themselves caught. Those which succeed in escaping are killed with bolas.

The cold of the Titicaca is such that in the mornings the birds are torpid. The Indians, hidden behind bundles of totora, draw near without being seen; they catch them by their claws and finish them off with their teeth or by twisting their necks.

241 Agriculture. The Uro today practice agriculture, just as the inhabitants on the shores of the Titicaca do. I do not know to what extent the produce of their fields contributes toward guaranteeing their existence. They cultivate, of course, potatoes and quinoa.

Carangas--
Chipaya

/161 cont./

233 The llamas and alpacas usually gather beyond the zone
crossed by the herds of sheep, and where the even poorer pastures are
gradually lost in the arid puna (Pl. II, A /see p. 211/). The young
llamas are the object of maternal care: they are placed under
blankets if a cold night is expected and if necessary are fed milk
with a funnel. One of my Indian friends stayed a whole day watch-
ing a llama whose young did not want to nurse.

231 It is rather strange that the Chipaya do not raise guinea pigs,
as practically all the Indians of the llanos do. It is true that the
Aymara of Carangas no longer have any, for reasons which I do not
[215] know. The number of hens in Chipaya is not as great as in most of
[249] the villages of the puna. I do not know what they do with them be-
cause I never noticed them eating the eggs or the meat. If some few
cats are added one will have the complete list of the domestic ani-
mals that the Chipaya have.

• 241 Agriculture. To the meager income which their flocks bring
[249] them the Chipaya add a very limited and primitive agriculture. They
cultivate hardly anything but quinua (Chenopodium quinoa) (in the
Chipaya: kwala) and cañagua (Chenopodium cañahua).

The cultivated plots (ayllu), which are common to the
whole tribe and not only to each of the ayllus, are situated to the
southeast of the village /167/ and to the east of the flooded region
called the lakes. This area is about 300 meters wide and one kilo-
meter long. This very sandy land, perfectly flat and not very wet,
is divided across its width into a succession of parallel strips marked
out by three series of raised clods of earth serving as boundaries.
Each of these strips, which are oriented east-west, is about ten
meters wide and 300 meters long.

[251] Each year on Saint Andrew's Day (November 30), these plots
are divided among the families, one strip to a family, by the rule
and under the responsibility of the alcaldes. If what they say is
accurate, the Chipaya practice crop rotation.

[252] The agricultural methods are most primitive. To kill the
soil the Indians formerly used small hoes with bent handles, a specimen

Caranga:-
Cipaya

/162 cont./

of which I was still able to obtain (Fig. 2. K /see p. 150/). Today they use long-handled hoes (*aruna, takisa*) of European make. The seeds are sown from meter to meter in holes they make with this instrument. The natives do not seem to show any attention to sowing in a straight line, and the holes when seen from a certain height give the appearance of wavy and capricious lines.

These fields are not irrigated but could obviously be without much work, given the uniformity of the plain. Some Čipaya with an enterprising spirit have recognized the possibility of this improvement, and this question is at present the object of discussion among the groups of land cultivators. The *quinua* which grows in these fields is stunted and bears few seeds. The harvest is frequently of no account as a consequence of excessive droughts or frosts. I noticed some faint attempts at cultivating barley (1) in the shelter of several broken down enclosures.

1. The Čipaya while traveling dig up a tubercule (*ulla*) which they say is the root of the *tola*, and they appear to be very fond of it. As far as I am concerned I found it tasted sour and insipid. Another wild tubercule (*uwkxpera*) was pointed out to me as being edible also.

Trade. The Čipaya make cheeses, which constitute their chief industry and the source of their wealth, out of sheep's milk. They trade it for everything they need to live and which nature denies them: maize, *quinua*, barley, broad beans, potatoes, dried fish, coca, and alcohol. These products are brought to them by Aymara traders or mestizos, who generally come from the region of the Salinas, from Garcimendoza. The Čipaya economy hence rests in large part on trade. They themselves sometimes go to the

[16th Century]

/30 cont./

101 between ou and o /French sounds/; or else urito (ourito), an affectionate diminutive, or chana wawa, "younger children." But at the same time they give them the contemptuous name of hosle or huslé, "bastard," without father or master," or on the other hand the very respectful one of haké waka, "sacred men."

The fishermen of Lake Titicaca are called by the other natives uru, uro, kotá-haké ("men of the Lake"), uma-hake ("water men"), and chaĥka-uira ("fishermen") in Aymara; laguneros /"lake men", in Spanish; uru, uru-kuna ("Uru men"), cocha kuna ("men of the Lake"), kocha-la ("those who go on the lake"), in Quechua.

Documents of the Spanish Chroniclers

101 175 Morua (Fr. Martin de)

...but since the peoples of Peru are many very different in appearance /forma/ and language, according to the bigness of the region and province, they did not all live in the same manner nor did they have the same customs, but in some parts some are very slow and dull, as in Collao and other areas; [131] because some lived close to the great lake of Titicaca and [262] subsisted on the totora and fish that were found in the lake, and these were called Uros, and their descendants exist today, and of the others, Collas and Pacajnas, some of them or generally most raise livestock and some live near the said [175] lake, intermixed with the said Uros; and these eat raw fish, [262] which they catch with rafts made of totoras; and they wore [501] clothes made of common reed-grass, which they reaped and [291] cut on the lake shore and wove like mats, and with it they [294] made a sort of jacket which they were accustomed to wear; [241] and they do not sow anything, nor do they trouble to make [342] houses, but they merely subsist on plants, although there also [222] exists among them a seed similar to mijo which grows on

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

They do little hunting of land animals, but they may lasso the head male of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

Herding.—The *Uru* have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The *Uru* have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

Farming.—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

Food preparation.—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuñu. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then toast it to make a nourishing powder (pitu). The succulent white root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

Like all the altiplano peoples, the *Uru* chew coca.

HOUSES

Most *Uru* houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-houses, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bunches of totora reeds placed vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal cords in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (tola), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (yareta), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller *Uru* shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The Sojopaca *Uru* build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the islet of Simillaque. On the Isle of Panza there are round, stone-roofed houses.

to individual families by the head of each moiety. The altitude and the high salinity make the land infertile, and crops are meager. Sowing is done with a spade or sometimes a pointed stick, pushed into the earth with a strong thrust, forming a dry hole in which the seed is planted.

The people of the Andes have been master weavers for long over a thousand years. Modern Chipaya women carry on the art on looms like the ones their ancestors used, weaving the cloth for the family clothes from hand-spun llama wool. The women dress almost exactly as their ancestors did when the Spanish arrived. The basic garment is a rectangular shirt, woven in one piece with an opening left for the head. The blue sleeves that are sewn on are a modern addition. A black or gray tunic (*arku*) with a decorative border is worn over this, covering the whole body from the shoulders to the ankles. This ancient style has been slightly altered under ecclesiastical influence; now most of the women sew up the sides to form a sort of skirt. The sash is woven with black and white geometric designs. An ample mantle completes the costume. Long pins with large flattened heads are used to secure the mantle, and as ornaments in the hair. When the sun is strong, they protect themselves with an *anluño*, a folded cloth worn on the head, exactly like the ones shown on Inca pottery.

Perhaps the most striking pre-Columbian survival is the famous "Titicaca coiffeur" still worn by many of the

[P21-A]

9:La Barre E-4.5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

earthen sties, or mud-and-stone conical huts. I observed no cats at Ancoaqui, though they occur in Aymára villages a day's journey hence.

Agriculture is unimportant among the Uru, although they cultivate *kañawa* (or "quinoa," Uru *kula*, a millet-like grain) from which they make a toasted ground powder they call *pitu*. It is pleasant tasting and is very concentrated and nourishing. They also cultivate a small amount of "papas amargas" or small, bitter potatoes from which they make *ñuñu* (Uru *awui*). The succulent white roots of the *totora* reed (*sulu*, *kawi*, or *kuima*) are commonly eaten raw by the Uru. These vegetable products they augment in their trading of fish to the Aymára.

Kañawa is ground on a stone slanting outward from the woman's lap with a flat stone bar, whence the ground grain collects in a cloth at the far, lower end. The Uru make a beer they call *likla* or *likli*, or *suwiankasis* according to Palevecino. Posnansky (page 102) says they sometimes make *cháchas* of masticated maize also; *likli* is made from a plant called *kiwi* or *kiwi*, which he supposes is aquatic. This same author considers the Uru somewhat more abstemious of alcohol than the Aymára but this is probably less a result of inclination than extreme poverty. This Bolivian student notes also as a food of the Uru "camaroncitos [?shrimp] transparentes" (Uru *koykoyu*), Amphipods of the group *Hyalella pallida*, *H. robusta*, etc. from two to ten millimeters long, which live in the *totora* roots. Toasted, these are a rich, nutritious food in times of scarcity, as well as an "estimulante sexual." The Uru chew *coca*, of course, as do all Andean natives, trading their fish for it with the "cholo" or halfbreed tradesmen who bring the narcotic leaf from the *ywagas* or deep semi-tropical valleys of the Departamentos of La Paz and Cochabamba.

Fishing is the basis of Uru economy, however, as it appears to have been throughout the period of European knowledge of them. Fishing by moonlight I was told is preferred as the best time. Fish fences, *kawla*, of *totora* bundles stuck in the soft mud of the river bottom were observed several times in the Desaguadero. They are of the same type that is used in the swampy shallows of southern Lake Titicaca. Palavecino thus describes their construction:

> Each of these [bundles] is made of five or six reeds placed in the same direction and attached by the upper thinner part. They carry these bundles in their *kalus* to the place which appears to them best for fishing and there build their weir. To drive the bundles of *totora* into the mud they use the gaff (*ohwa*) with which they push their boats. [This is a stout pole with a stubby tripod at the base, so that it will catch on roots and water plants and not sink into the soft mud when the boat is poled along (W.Lab.)] The bundle is placed against the gaff, the end of which rests on the lip-